

LIMERICK SOCIALIST

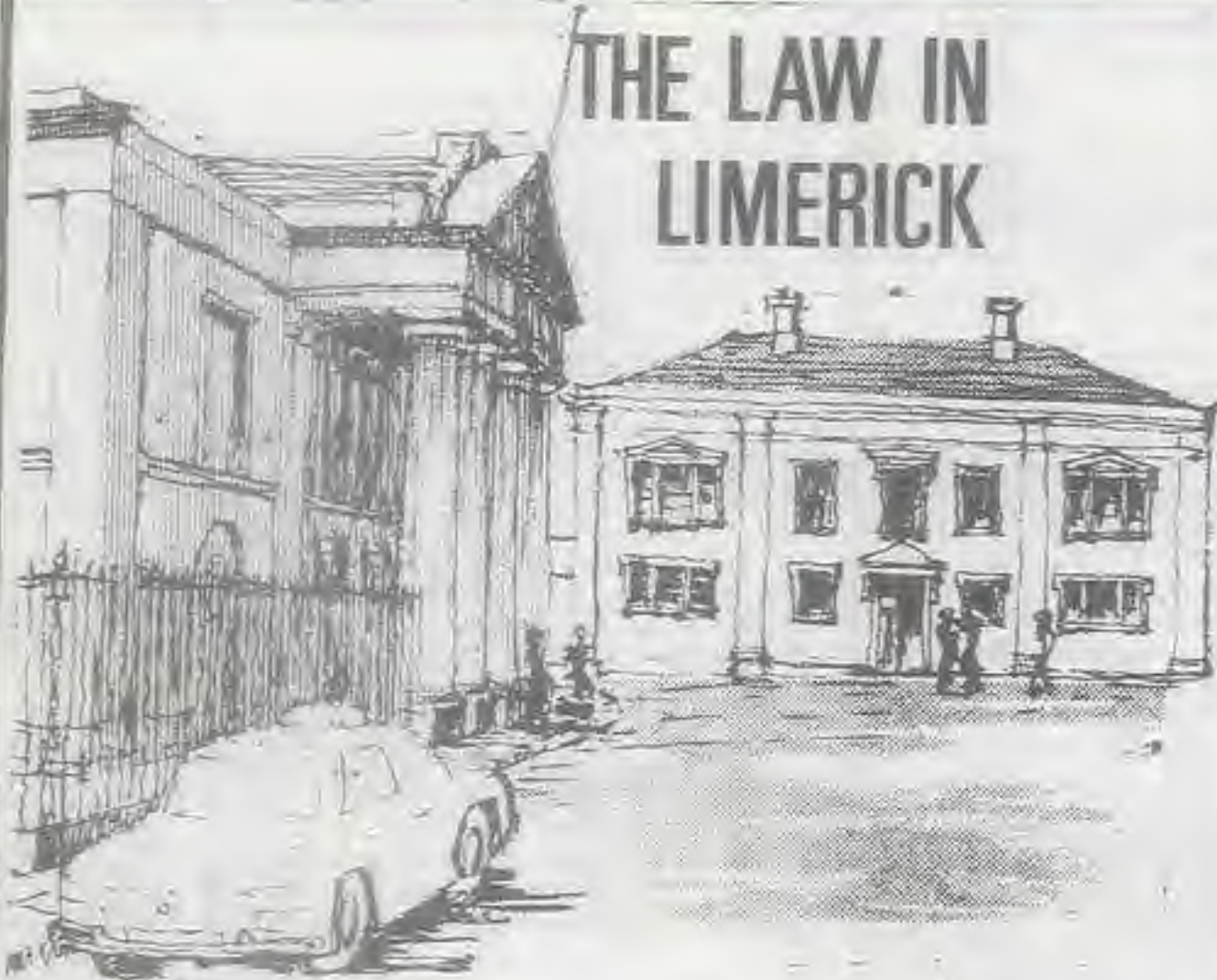
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THE
VOICE
OF THE
WORKER

That which is good for the working class I esteem patriotic ... James Connolly



THE LAW IN LIMERICK



THE HISTORIC IRISH NATION

THE BATTLE OF THE BULGE



INTERSTRETCH



ANCO'S NEW APPROACH

THE LAW IN LIMERICK

A FISSURE IN THE MONOLITH

The component parts of the Limerick legal system have always dovetailed together into a seemingly impregnable monolith. A number of recent events have shown, however, that the cosy relationship that has traditionally existed between the Gardaí, the local solicitors and the press is undergoing some tension.

The September edition of the Limerick Socialist described how in early August Sean Bourke wrote a letter to the Limerick Leader concerning police brutality in Limerick. Bourke also supplied a list of the names of the victims of this brutality. The Leader failed to print the letter but the Irish Independent published it in full on August 17th.

On September 22nd, after a gestation period of nearly two months, the Leader broke its silence. With an uncharacteristic approach, the paper published a lead story by Billy Kelly, titled Silence on Claims of Brutality by Gardaí. The article stated:

Mystery this Friday evening surrounds the reluctance of several Limerick people to comment on complaints of alleged Garda brutality which they made to the Limerick Leader. Some spoke freely "off the record". But they shied away later when asked to have their stories recorded for publication. .. Citizens claimed they had been beaten in a garda station and on the street without doing anything to warrant such action. Their efforts to have justice brought to bear, they told us, were in vain.

And the riddle of the "reluctant witnesses" was quickly solved — by the witnesses themselves:

Every case pending would be influenced by any complaints made by them against gardai, reporters were told, or life in general would be made more difficult for them. People said they were approached by gardai and warned not to say anything of assaults. Reporters listened as people asked them not to mention anything of this matter because as soon as the paper was on sale members of the gardai would be along for "a chat".

The fears expressed by these citizens were well founded and were later to be confirmed by developments. The following week, in its edition of September 29th, the Leader carried a front page official statement from the Garda headquarters in Dublin replying to the allegations:

This article contains allegations of the most serious and damaging nature levelled against the Garda in Limerick. The article fails to suggest even one specific instance on which the veracity or otherwise of these allegations may be tested.

Indeed it is a masterpiece of innuendo. If this article can be supported by any substantial facts, then it is in the public interest, no less than that of the Garda Síochána, that such facts be placed before the Garda authorities for proper investigation.

In the same issue of the Limerick Leader (September 29th) Billy Kelly followed up with another lead story in which he supported his earlier article with some "substantial facts". Kelly wrote:

Uniformed gardai stood by as a man — later stated to be a member of the Special Branch — assaulted a civilian outside a Limerick public house, it was alleged in the city this Friday. The injured man was then taken by his attacker in a squad car to Barrington's Hospital, it was claimed. There, Mr. Clement Hayes, married, of 23 Donoghmore Crescent, Southill, Limerick, received three stitches.

Aidan Cahill, 140 O'Malley Park, Limerick told the Leader that "he had witnessed the assault" at about midnight on Saturday, June 23rd, outside the Galvone Arms, where he works as a part-time barman. He described the incident:

Mr. Hayes was standing beside the man who was speaking to the gardai. He had his hands in his pockets. He had a few drinks taken .. Another man in plain clothes, who was standing behind the gardai, brushed aside a garda sergeant, and moved forward and struck Mr. Hayes as hard as he could. Mr. Hayes fell and hit his head off the ground. .. It was sickening. He went down very fast and hit his a terrible bang on the ground .. He didn't open his mouth. The man hit him for nothing. I went over to the man and asked him why he hit Hayes. He said he didn't hit him, but that Hayes fainted.

Aidan Cahill and another witness went to Edward Street Garda Station and made statements about the incident. They were told that "the attacker was a Special Branch man", and that the matter "would have to go to the Chief Superintendent". They had heard nothing about the matter up to September 29, when Cahill was interviewed by the Limerick Leader.

When Clement Hayes recovered from his injury, he went with his solicitor to the garda barracks and filed a complaint. The Leader report stated: "He had heard nothing since". But the ink on the Leader's story was hardly dry before Hayes had heard something. Two gardai arrived at his house with a summons accusing him of "being guilty whilst drunk of disorderly behaviour" at Galvone on June 23rd.

And so, after a lapse of over three months since the attack and injury sustained by Hayes, he got action — but hardly the kind he expected. The clearly expressed fears of police action if anybody

talked about experiences of garda brutality had soon proved to be well justified. The effect of the summons on Hayes and his wife and family was, not unexpectedly, distressing. Hayes, who already suffers from a nervous disorder, quickly got the message and has given no further press interviews on police brutality or anything else. Like the other Leader interviewees, he, too, had been silenced.

The Limerick Leader devoted its editorial in the same (September 29th) to the subject of its two front page lead stories. The editorial, titled THE CASE OF THE SILENT 'VICTIMS', stated:

Why should citizens, who spoke freely off-the-record to reporters within the past few weeks about being "assaulted" by gardai, now refuse to have their stories recorded for publication? The claims of some — that they have been warned by members of the force to stay silent — are as disquieting as the original accusations of personal violence. The affair prompts important questions about the delicate relationship between police and public. Not the least of these concerns the handling of complaints against those responsible for maintaining law and order.

The editorial then goes on to cast doubts on the suggestion of the garda that facts about police brutality "be placed before the Garda Authorities for proper investigation".

A citizen who believes he has been unjustly treated by a garda can, of course, take legal action against him. This, however, is easier said than done. For instance, the complainant might be unable to positively identify the garda in question. Or he might find it impossible to produce suitable witnesses to corroborate his evidence. Or he might be deterred by the cost of legal action or by the suspicion, no matter how unfounded, that the scales of justice are tilted against him, especially if he has a criminal record.

In other words, the Leader is saying that the dice is heavily loaded against the ordinary person when it comes to bringing legal charges against a garda for unjust treatment. And, predictably, the editorial in pointing out that the gardai are judge and jury in their own court, tries to present the gardai's methods of operation as being more just than those of the R.U.C.

Machinery does exist within the Garda Síochána for processing complaints from members of the public against members of the force. However, unless one accepts that garda officers are always the best judges of their colleagues' conduct, one can only regard this method as unacceptable. It is an R.U.C. — style system and, as such, unworthy of the Garda Síochána.

The Leader calls for an independent, impartial tribunal to investigate charges against the police and whose "findings would have to be published". The editorial concludes:

Mr. Cooney, the Minister for Justice would do well to consider the matter urgently. The signs are that, with the increase in crime and growing political militancy relations between gardai and civilians may well undergo greater strains than ever before. Ritualistic declarations of faith in the innate decency of the vast majority of the men in blue are no solution to the problem.

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ANCO

a new approach

By EMMET KELLY

A RESPONSE TO ANCO'S
"DISCUSSION DOCUMENT"

There is an obstacle in the way of those who would challenge the AnCo authorities on the merits of the publication in respect of apprenticeship. It is, that in this document set down for discussion, but one side of the agreement is presented: the 'new approach' as seen by the AnCo staff, no alternative is presented. Those then who would dispute it's merits are in effect forced, to argue by amendment rather than by a "compare and contrast" method. If then the dispute or debate is entered upon these grounds there is a real danger that those who in fact want nothing of AnCo's "new approach" will, albeit unwittingly, contribute to an acceptance of this approach. A debate by amendment means in effect that one accepts the basic proposition but would alter the detail. Thus would the new approach gain approval with the assistance of it's opponents.

The comments made on this document by representatives of the educational and trade union interests at the I.C.T.U. conference this summer and as reported in the newspapers from time to time would indicate that AnCo's 'approach' is unacceptable; and entirely so. It is of vital importance that this "no" vote is expressed unambiguously so as to leave no doubt about the grounds on which the rejection is based. It is my view that the "approach", the "philosophy of training" underlying these proposals is at best ill-conceived and in it's possible consequences, injurious to human development.

I propose in this essay to examine what I conceive to be the AnCo philosophy of training as it presents itself in this document and to indicate what I believe to be the dangers inherent in it.

It is right at this point to say that there can be no doubt as to the need for a reform of apprenticeship. AnCo indeed has a role to play; what is in question is the direction taken in reform.

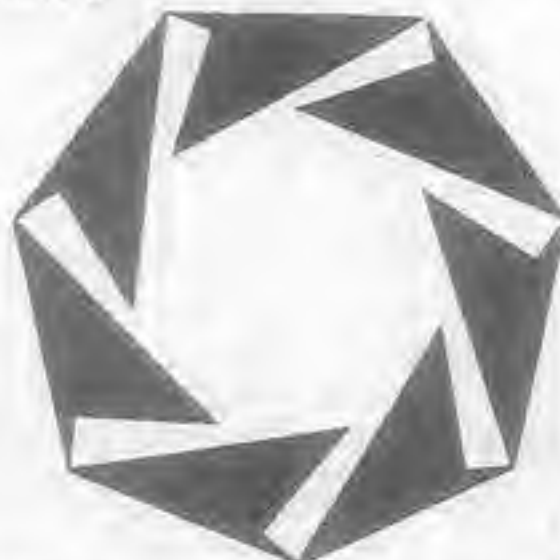
The AnCo view of apprenticeship is summed up in a paragraph of the discussion document entitled continuous education during working life.

"Apprenticeship is not a continuation of formal general education. Rightly, formal education concerns itself with the development of the individual and it does not aim at preparing a person to do a specific job. Apprenticeship, on the other hand, is strictly job oriented. It is essentially a means of training a young person to do a job well in an industrial environment and subject to industrial disciplines". And in an introduction to it's proposals for apprenticeship AnCo sets forth the nature of apprenticeship in Mediaeval times... "it involved (apprenticeship) the attachment, for a number of years of a young person to a master craftsman, who was responsible for teaching him his trade and for his general education and welfare".

The AnCo view of apprenticeship is amply demonstrated throughout the document; and the key work which consistently shows that view is the one "input". The value of "educational input"

apprenticeship period and instead, proceed to give the apprentice a series of "inputs" designed to meet the needs of industry. The impression one receives upon reading the AnCo proposals is of a receptacle (the apprentice) into which is poured a certain mix of inputs designed to bring forth after a period of three years gestation an end product shaped to the specifications of the industry which, as it were, had placed the order. The long and the short of the matter is that industry would place its orders for manpower in quite the same way as it would do so for a piece of equipment required to do a specific task: for it's mechanical equipment the order will be placed with an appropriate producer; for manpower AnCo will receive the order; and provided it can deliver as per industrial specifications it will be paid for the job.

Now, lest it be forgotten, it should be borne in mind that an apprenticeship will normally commence at the age of fifteen or sixteen so that in fact while other boys will be continuing their general education at secondary schools and in many cases later at third level education institutions, the boy entering upon an apprenticeship will be cut off from general education and instead be processed through the AnCo conditioning machine leaving him while still in his teens the ready-for-use industrial robot. Thus will the children of the nation be "equally cherished".



There can be little doubt that if the AnCo proposals are put into practice they will be a major contribution to the process of dehumanization which in the "developed world" is in full cry. The thinking behind these proposals, the philosophy informing them, is an import from the "developed states" of Western Europe. That philosophy is profoundly capitalistic and has long since shed the load of man as being "sacred in his humanity", to carry onwards towards a mindless goal. Must we follow? I think not, and I would contend that a reform of apprenticeship is possible which would foster human development by it's recognition of the truth that growth in any area of learning is most complete when set in the background of learning per se. I argue for the principle of the university and I will try to show that the best of our traditional apprentice training schemes have always had inherent in them the character of the university, if not the outward form of the institution.

The essence of traditional apprenticeship has

The author is a member of the Electrical Trades Union. We publish this article as one trade unionist's contribution to the proposals contained in AnCo's "Discussion Document". The "Limerick Socialist" hopes to publish a more comprehensive socialist analysis of the document in a future issue.

is discussed, and it is concluded that that should be "job-oriented" decided by "job analyses". A preference is expressed for this "input" to be given in a workshop; knowledge input is also discussed in terms of the trade; and it is indicated that, the reason for the "educational input" being "job-oriented" is that the employer is paying for it. We are told in fact that "a certain educational input would be of considerable value to the apprentice"; but because "off-the-job training would be given at the employer's expense" the educational input should therefore be industrially orientated and "should not be designed to make up for shortcomings in the apprentices' general education".

Effectively then, AnCo while expressing a certain sentimental regard for general education would unlike the mediaevalists dismiss it from the always been in the relationship of apprentice to craftsman. One learned one's trade from a craftsman or a number of craftsmen; and the trade was learned on the job. Thus over a period of five, six or seven years by association with and under the instruction of a craftsman one acquired a knowledge of the craft. The relationship was normally informal, that is to say the apprentice was not bound under a rigid, or strict rule. In the first year of apprenticeship, while the apprentice did commence his learning of the trade the pace was normally quite easy and the apprentice might make the tea or do a variety of errands on the job; fetching tools, materials and the like. In this way, though making the tea might now be frowned upon, the apprentice was eased into the industrial environment and had time and freedom to come to terms with it. On this aspect, there would be a similarity between 1st Year Apprenticeship and the "fresher" or 1st year at university; and indeed both allowed the first year learner, the freedom which gave him the time to become aware of the different disciplines which were active in the institution or on the job.

If then the university student in his first year was given a wide or general education and time to 'look around' so too, in quite a different setting, was the apprentice. For example in the E.S.B. training programme three to six months of 1st year would be spent in technical college where the principles of a wide range of sciences were taught together with courses given in English and other broad topics. The apprentice in the job was not forced in any sense. His university was the world and his apprenticeship offered him protection from the rigid demands which otherwise might blunt his sensibilities. Without claiming that an ideal was ever achieved one could claim that the on the job training was liberal and human. The "rationale" or the system of work was acquired in time. It "grew" on the apprentice.

As the apprentice advanced through the years and worked with a variety of craftsmen he acquired his trade and increasingly practiced it; but the fact that he was an apprentice gave him rights or freedoms in much the same way as a student has privileges. The cutting of under-graduate years no more or no less than the

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In search of . . .

Part Seven

by Jim Kemmy

John Francis O'Donnell

Had he but lived, he might have left a book worthy to be his monument. He died, and what he would achieve 's a game of guess.

"THE MUSIC LESSON"
- J.F. O'Donnell

CHANGE BEFORE DEATH

IN 1872 O'Donnell edited a little LONDON CATHOLIC periodical called "THE LAMP". For this paper he wrote a serial tale based on evictions in Ireland and a notable long poem, "THE CHRISTIAN MARTYR". He also continued to write prose and poetry for the "NATION". Following the Galway election petition, he wrote another serial story about the Sadlier and Keogh affair titled, "SADLIER THE BANKER; or the LACEYS OF RATHCORE", in the "NATION" in 1873-75. O'Donnell became London correspondent of the "BOSTON PILOT" in 1872, and also wrote for "FUN", under Tom Hood the younger.

Writing to earn the money he sorely needed to maintain his family, he was forced to be versatile or go under. An example of his versatility and prodigious output is given in a letter of his, written in London, dated Thursday, and having the postmark of 19th July, 1872:

"Talking of work - since Sunday, 2 cols. notes, 2 cols. London gossip, and a leader 1 col. and a col. of verse for the Nation. For Catholic Opinion, two pages of notes and a leader. For Illustrated Magazine, 3 poems and a five col. story.

But in the midst of this frenetic activity, he found some precious time to let his thoughts drift back to Limerick. The last poem he sent to the Nation was *The Treaty Stone*, and it was published on the 21st March, 1874. One of his finest poems, *On the Rampart, Limerick*, was written in this period in that London, "where foul November gathers". The poem's last verse eloquently expresses the "wasting longing" of O'Donnell to see once more the city of his fathers:

*This part is mine: to live divorced,
Where foul November gathers,
With other sons of thine dispersed,
Brave city of my fathers,
To gaze on rivers not mine own,
And nurse a wasting longing,
Where Babylon, with trumpets blown,
South, North, East, West comes thronging.
To hear distinctly, if afar,
The voices of thy people -
To hear through crepitating jar
The sweet bells of thy steeple,
To love the town, the hill, the wood,
The Shannon's stormful flashes,
Where Freedom's seed was sown in blood
To blossom into ashes!*

But the pressures began to tell. The pace of the literary treadmill had become too much, even for the resourceful O'Donnell. After twenty years unceasing work as a journalist and poet, he now faced the last and most tantalising decision of his

career. The life-line of economic security at last beckoned - but from outside his literary world. Through the influence of Lord O'Hagan, he was offered an appointment in the office of the Agent General for New Zealand, with a salary of between two and three hundred pounds a year - and he accepted. So O'Donnell, the man of many changes, made his biggest and final change. And the flood-tide of life into which he eagerly plunged at seventeen now turned into more tranquil waters. His friend, Richard Dowling, describes O'Donnell's move:

*Out of the turmoil and grinding cares of a
journalist's life he at last emerged, weary and
exhausted, but with hope of producing something
worthy of his powers now that mere bread was
assured to him.*

O'Donnell, himself, took the change of fate with characteristic optimism. His earlier poem, *The Old Violin*, summed up his attitude and the ultimate inevitability of his action:

*Though fame and fortune could not last,
We have no fears
For coming years
And no repentings for the past!*

CERTIFIED COPY OF AN ENTRY OF DEATH

REGISTRATION DISTRICT				
15215. DEATH in the Sub-district of <i>Johnston</i>				
Column - 1	2	3	4	5
When and where born	Name and surname	Sex	Age	Occupation
<i>South May 1834</i>	<i>John Francis O'Donnell</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>38</i>	<i>Journalist</i>

CERTIFIED to be a true copy of an entry in the certified copy of a Register of Deaths General of the GENERAL REGISTER OFFICE, SOMERSET HOUSE, LONDON, under the Seal of the Registrar-General.

DR 189209

A POET'S GRAVE

T. J. Dunbar

How still this solemn place of gloom!
The gaunt, bare trees, their leaves have shed;
Where winter shrouds grey spire and tomb,
And tablet sacred to the dead.

Beneath yon solitary mound,
Where one white daisy rears its breast;
With yew and cypress clustered round,
The world-tired Poet lies at rest!

No more shall toil, or daily strife,
Wake his calm dreaming, slumber-won;
Cold alone, neglected as in life,
Sleeps Erin's chiefest minstrel son!


No titled pomp, nor wealth had he -
Yet all his toiling life he sung
Of Youth, and Love and Chivalry,
And Beauty, when the world was young.

Though poor and hard his lot below,
To all mankind he could afford,
Kind friendship's gift; in weal or woe,
The rapture of a kindly soul.

Dear Bard, whose worth lived all unknown,
While sweet the strains thy wild harp made;
No humble tribute stands, nor stone,
To mark the spot where thou art laid.

Yet, from the distant city gay,
Here, where December's chill winds rave;
One kindred spirit comes to lay,
This laurel chaplet on thy grave.

D 08905



O'DONNELL'S GRAVE.

Others indeed have sung a strain,
Of terror, passion, peace, or pain;
They've passed away — thy songs remain.

Here in this quiet Sabbath light,
Whilst the sad trees are gold and bright,
I stand, no priest, no Sybarite.

Beside thy grave, thy lonely urn,
Whilst all the trees that flame and burn,
Despondent o'er thine ashes mourn.

(Goldsmith's Grave — J.F. O'Donnell).

GIVEN AT THE GENERAL REGISTER OFFICE,
SOMERSET HOUSE, LONDON

Application Number..... 8864 G

Being born in the County of Wicklow

6	7	8	9
Cause of death	Signature, description and residence of informant	When registered	Signature of registrar
Chorea	J. O'Donnell	May 1874	H. Mason
connected	St. James - Dublin	May 1874	Registrar

The District above mentioned, said Office:

Great singer of the South! whose name,
By future tongues shall reverenced be —
Graved in the golden scroll of Fame,
Though once the cold world frowned on thee!



JOHN FRANCIS O'DONNELL

Writing on 15th September 1873, O'Donnell describes the domestic excitement wrought by his change of employment:

I got my appointment on Saturday. I don't know myself. My wife doesn't know me. The children shriek as if I were a stranger. They fancy that a miracle has been performed in the house; but owing to their inherent obscurity they can't pick out the saint. I have a project in my head for canonising tailors.

Richard Dowling wryly comments on this admission, and gives a pen-picture of O'Donnell as he appeared at this time:

If upon obtaining an official position, he conferred with tailors and turned dandy, it is not surprising that his own people could not recognise him, for he had been particularly careless in dress. In stature he was under the middle height, and of full, active figure. His eyes were dark and near-sighted. He carried his head well back, and wore moustaches and a full brown beard.

But O'Donnell did not long enjoy his release from the drudgery and precariousness of his life as a writer. In September 1873 he considered his

troubles at an end; nine months later his life was over. He died on the 6th May, 1874, aged thirty-eight years. How he welcomed his brief respite and enjoyed it while he could is shown by a poem, titled *My Fiddle*, which was found by him when he died. In the poem, with prophetic and pathetic significance, O'Donnell bids an affectionate farewell to his muse. He says his soul is "boiled white, in double bonds of dry routine" but he is grateful that —

*That means peace. For blessed are the chimes
Which tell of labour done and toil rewarded.
Forgetfulness of tantalising rhymes
And sensitiveness, feeble, though two-sworded.*

Before laying down his symbolical fiddle he asks himself if he has always been true to Ireland in his singing. He answers —

*You did your work serenely, calm, and sure;
Rest there, and be secure.*

In his poetry O'Donnell had frequently returned to the theme of death. In *The Dead Rose* he wrote of death as "O-sweet life, darkened in its prime!" as he describes life's last moments:

*Good-bye! The flower was at my heart,
The Tudor casements sank behind;
On wings voluminous and swart,
A cloud came rushing up the wind,
And made the waves and beaches blind.
The lightnings lit the hissing surf —
One wrack of fire a moment still —
O flash and fade and flash in vain,
There was lightning in my brain;
There was a grave below the hill.*

The inevitability of death and the painful parting with life's dearest possessions are sadly contemplated in another one of his poems, *The Spring*:

*O home, O friends, O long familiar haunts —
Chapel, and brook, and wood, and mossy
bridge,
The fisher bending by the shallow stream,
The windmill whirling on the glebe-land's ridge:
Ah! never, never shall you shine for me.*

*Sad are our memories, sad unbidden tears,
Deep mingled extasies of peace and pain,
Sad are the thoughts that glimmer around our
hearts,
The odours of wild-flowers in falling rain,
Ah! bitter, bitter are my thoughts to me!*

*Good-bye! and I could say unnumbered times,
To friend, and stream, and tree — good-bye,
good-bye!
Only remains to comfort us a while
Love, like a late light in a darkening sky,
Ah love, in sorrow, thou abid'st with me.*

And so, through an ironic twist of fate, O'Donnell, a life-long and fervent Irish nationalist, ended his career in the employment of a British Colonial Government office. He died on May 6th, 1874, and was buried at Kensal Green Cemetery in London. The cause of his death, as recorded in his death certificate, was pleuro pneumonia, abscess connected with ribs, pyaemia. Like his life itself, the burial ceremony was a quiet affair, and his funeral passed almost unnoticed in London and in Limerick. John Francis O'Donnell, the wandering Limerick minstrel, had made his last journey.

(To be concluded).

'THE HISTORIC IRISH NATION'

Recently the letters pages of the LIMERICK LEADER contained exchanges of views on the question of whether Ireland is one or two nations. One correspondent, Richard Lynch, Pallaskerry, Co. Limerick, strongly supported the one-nation position. In the course of a letter, published on August 11th., he stated:

The struggle between British Imperialism and the Irish people is the central theme of Ireland's present troubles, and has been for 800 years. All other differences are secondary and subservient to this.

In a second letter to the Leader, on September 15th., Mr. Lynch repeated this statement. Another correspondent, Mrs. K.M. Malone, Fedamore, Co. Limerick, joined the debate on October 20th. Her letter asked:

How can a mere 300 years of different religion and political outlook, separate into 2 nations what was originally the same stock? This is a cold fact, and not just a "Republican" state of mind.

But from a Limerick working class attitude, the most significant support for the one-nation position came from Frank Prendergast, former president of the Limerick Council of Trade Unions. Presiding at a "one or two nations?" public debate, held at the National Hotel on October 6th., between speakers from the Workers' Association and the Revolutionary Marxist Group, he opposed the statement that the "historic Irish nation" was a myth. He claimed that this nation existed and could, at the very least, "be traced back to the seventeenth century".

In making this statement Frank Prendergast has shown himself to be completely out of step with modern historians and even with changes in historical interpretation in the one-nation camp. The fact is that the "historic Irish nation" theory has been totally discredited and discarded. Liam de Paor, one of the leading one-nation historians in Ireland, writing in his "Roots" column in the Irish Times on August 7th this year, made this clear when he stated:

The "historic Irish nation" is a myth, and can be shown to be one which in its nationalist form has involved double-think and self-deception, and has evaded important issues. The nationalist argument is full of contradictions.

But Liam de Paor is not the first historian to debunk the "historic Irish nation". Rev. E.A. D'Alton, L.L.D., in his monumental *History of Ireland* in eight volumes tell us that in ancient times, "Ireland must not be regarded as one kingdom, governed by one king and one common system of laws; it was rather a confederation of small states or clans, each governed by its own chieftain and practically independent". There was an Ardri (High King) but "his authority was shadowy and nominal". The other kings thwarted all his plans, conspired against his life ... and there were few whose end was not one of violence". Efforts to exact any tribute usually ended in war.

Professor Eoin McNeill stated that the number

of these states in Ireland each with its own "king", varied from eighty to one hundred. Sir Shane Leslie, in *The Irish Tangle*, wrote: "Irish Unity was but a shadowy phantom in the past ... Irish unity or political democracy would have sounded as oddly in Gaelic or Feudal Ireland as the game of billiards which Shakespeare introduces into the play of Antony and Cleopatra".

Another historian, Dr. P.W. Joyce informs us: "The Irish princes might indeed have expelled the invaders without much difficulty if they had combined, but that they hardly ever did; on the contrary they fought as bitterly against each other as against the common foe". Dr. D'Alton writes of the Anglo-Norman conquest: "While Scotland with a less population was able to meet and sometimes defeat the whole power of England, Ireland was kept for centuries, not in order but in awe, by an army contemptible in its strength, which never numbered but a few hundred men". This position he ascribes to the hopeless disunity of the rulers.

In his *History of Ireland*, Stephen Gwynn stated: "Ireland never at any moment resisted as a whole". Dr. R.A. Macalister put the matter clearly and plainly: "Equally baseless with this legend of a primitive civilisation in Ireland is the childish fiction that Ireland was the most ancient nation in Europe" ... All efforts at establishing a political unity made by ambitious kings came to nothing. Even the pressure of the Viking invaders failed to compass it".

But there is an even more impeccable source available to destroy the figment of the ancient Irish nation. John Mitchel, the Young Ireland leader, who as a separatist would have been the first to proclaim the existence of such a nation before the nineteenth century, had one existed, pointed out its non-existence in his *"Life of Hugh O'Neill"* (1845):

Furthermore, there was, in the 16th century, no Irish nation. Save the tie of a common language, the chieftain of Clan-Conal (Donegal) had no more connection with the lord of Clan-Cara (Cork), than either had with the English Pale. The Anglo-Norman colony was regarded as one of the independent tribes of the island.

Mitchel describes the arrival and development of the Scots-Irish planters in Ulster:

A new immigration was made ... like that of the Tuatha-de-Danaan and Milesians of remoter times. Whatever God or demon may have led the first of them to these shores, the Anglo-Irish and the Scottish Ulstermen who have now far to old a title to be questioned - they were a hardy race, and fought stoutly for the pleasant valleys they dwell in. And are not Derry and Enniskillen Ireland's, as well as Benburb and the Yellow Ford?

Writing in the Dublin magazine *Hibernia* on the attempt to coerce the North, Dr. Alfred O'Rahilly, who could hardly be described as a propagandist for the Ulster Protestant community, wrote about these people in similar vein:

There are close on a million people, culturally and religiously homogeneous, comprising all classes from successful business men to dock labourers, intent on a way of life, differing in many ways from ours ... The idea that either the British or ourselves could coerce this minority is nonsense ... Instead of firing on the North, would it not be more profitable to emulate its industry and productivity? This whole campaign is artificial and emotional.

It soon becomes clear from any serious or balanced reading of Irish history that objective historians do not support the concept of a "historic Irish nation". The theory of this nation stretching back 800 years or 2,000 years, to the "coming of St. Patrick, or even, as has been claimed, "beyond the dawn of recorded history", does not stand up to examination. Faced with the dogmatic assertions of the one-nation propagandists, one is forced to agree with the conclusion of Sir Shane Leslie when he says that the Irish do not read their own histories, "always preferring political pamphlets or speeches. And a ballad has always gone further than a book".

Statements made by Southern nationalist leaders on this question support Leslie's statement. Eamann de Valera, speaking during a radio broadcast on St. Patrick's Day, 1935, claimed: "Since the coming of Saint Patrick ... Ireland has been a Catholic nation ... She remains a Catholic nation". In 1914 Arthur Griffith expressed a similar viewpoint: "When God made this country, he fixed its frontiers beyond the power of man to alter, while the seed rises and falls ..." The Republicans (I.R.B.) had no doubt about the matter: "As for Ulster, Ulster is Ireland's and shall remain Ireland's. Though the Irish nation, in its political and corporate capacity, were gall and wormwood to every Unionist in Ulster, yet they will swallow it. We will fight them if they want fighting, but we shall never let them go, never".

But nations are formed by people and not by geographical boundaries. History shows that an extensive migration of people between Ulster and Scotland has gone on throughout the ages. From the mid-sixteenth century the predominant trend was from Scotland to Ulster, and the migration was chiefly from the part of Scotland which had just become Presbyterian.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth century the "historical Irish nation" did not exist. When a national movement did develop it was in the English colony. Throughout the eighteenth century the English colony in Ireland organised a national movement against English control of Ireland. This development resulted in the rise of the Protestant nation. (A nation, as the word is understood in the modern world, comes into being when powerful forces bind a hitherto fragmented group of people into a strong unified community with a coherent identity. This can happen only when tribal and feudal divisions are broken down by the growth of commerce and small industry, in short, when the foundations of a modern capitalist society are laid down. The only community which formed such a society in seventeenth and eighteenth century Ireland was the Scots-Irish planters in Ulster).

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"THE HISTORIC IRISH NATION"

continued from facing page

The Ulster Protestants who led the unsuccessful 1798 United Irishmen's revolution were not trying to identify with any older nationalism of the native Catholic population, since nothing of that kind existed. What they did was to generate their own national movement for a democratic state, the first of its kind in the island's history. The movement failed, and with the economic growth of North-East Ulster, the Protestant nation's ties with the British market strengthened.

A Catholic middle-class movement did not emerge in Ireland until the nineteenth century, and this eventually developed the modern nationalist and republican bodies. The nineteenth century Catholic nationalism manifested itself in the Home Rule and other movements and showed the desire of the Catholic middle class for economic protection from Britain.

This brought the movement into irreconcilable conflict with the Ulster Protestants, whose economic prosperity depended on continued free access to the British market — a policy of tariffs on trade between the two countries would ruin them.

The nineteenth century Catholic nationalism was not — as the neo-national propagandists represent — a continuation and development of the United Irishmen movement. Daniel O'Connell was not Tone's successor. O'Connell was one of the originators of a new nationalist movement, which had a different basis, a different international outlook, and substantially different aims. The myth of a "historic Irish nation" is created by projecting backwards through the centuries the Catholic nation that emerged no further back than 1840.

The partition of Ireland was the outcome of the growth of two distinct Irish nations, each with its own economic life, and culture, its own religion and view of history, and each with its own closely-knit identity. The Border settlement was based on the economic and political realities of the situation and not on historical fiction.

Successive generations of Irish school-children have been taught a romantic, intoxicating and fundamentally mythological view of history. Because Ireland is one island, runs the myth, it must be one nation. The view has found expression in all corners of Irish political, social and religious life. The more determined — and honest — people educated in this way, have turned to militant forms of nationalism; other less enthusiastic spirits, like the Limerick Leader "one-nation" correspondents, content themselves with writing one-sided letters to the press.

For the majority of people, torn between their grasp of school-book history and their common sense ability to understand the reality of the situation, the result is ambivalence and confusion. And a measure of the confusion and narrow nationalism saturating the Irish working class movement is the manner in which Frank Prendergast, one of the leading trade unionists in the Limerick area, is still clinging to the discredited concept of a "historic Irish nation" long after it has been discarded by even the Southern nationalist historians.

While Catholic nationalists continue to assert their right to control the Northern Protestants, on the sham-democratic grounds that they are the political majority in the "historic Irish nation", Protestant resistance to Catholic domination will prevent the democratic and voluntary merger of the two nations.

ANCO A NEW APPROACH

(continued from page 3)

cutting of these of apprenticeship is a definite loss for education and learning.

I have attempted above to show the manner in which our apprentices have been traditionally trained and to show how with increased theoretical formation this tradition has been modified. I believe that reform is needed mainly to secure that all our apprentices and not just the privileged ones are given the benefits of this training. I believe further than a renewal of the meaning of apprenticeship would go a long way in renewing, where it has flagged, apprentice training, both on and off the job. And I think that the proof of the quality of our apprentice training lies in the fact that our craftsmen are proving equal to the challenges and demands of modern industry. Indeed, we need more training and learning in modern methods and techniques. But such learning must be organic, be a development from

and out of a broadly based education in the craft trade or indeed profession.

Though a never ending struggle, we have managed fairly well in this country to maintain man's freedom from dominance by the machine. Though threatened we have not as a people capitulated to the machine and become it's slaves, that danger is ever present; and we are always in danger of becoming "the masses": Personal identity is destroyed if this danger be realised.

This essay is seriously defective in many respects; it neither responds to all of the AnCo proposals nor provides a comprehensive alternative to them. But, whatever it's defects, I would hope that it might contribute to the argument being made in opposition to the AnCo proposals, and would hope, further, that this argument might be strong enough to cause this "approach to apprenticeship" to be rejected.

THE LAW IN LIMERICK

continued from PAGE 2

Nothing further was heard from the Leader for the next month until a short report was published in its front page of its issue of October 27th concerning the court case arising out of the charges of disorderly behaviour whilst drunk, brought against Clement Hayes. When the case was being adjourned at the Limerick City Court to November 16th Gordon Holmes, State Solicitor, fired a warning shot across the bows of the Leader. The paper's report stated:

Mr. Gordon Holmes, State Solicitor, said that he wished to draw the attention of the Press to the danger of any further publication on the matter, which was sub justice. As Mr. Holmes began to speak, Mr. Gordon Hayes, sobr., for the defendant, said that it was, "quite ridiculous" to be putting the matter down for mention.

The court clash between the two local solicitors, Gordon Holmes and Gordon Hayes, offers an interesting sidelight on the Limerick legal world. "The solicitors have the city sewn up" is a comment commonly heard in Limerick. Gordon Holmes epitomises the successful legal operator. Wealthy and powerful, he had extended his interests in recent years to business and property undertakings. He also owns a second house at Killee, which he uses as a summer retreat. One of Holmes' most successful coups was in pulling off the job of state solicitor. Here his Knights of Columbanus connections allied to his Fianna Fail influence helped former attorney general, Colm Condon, to give him the post.

Gordon Hayes, the other solicitor in the garda brutality case, has shown a different approach to his legal work. Hayes represents most working class people who come before the Limerick City Court. He has been sounding warnings in recent months that he is far from satisfied with the operation of the law. Many times he has clashed with District Justice M. de Burca.

That the gardai are now taking a keen interest in the work of Gordon Hayes was demonstrated during a recent court case. A hint of the interference of the police in his affairs was given in the Weekly Echo report (22/9/73).

A Limerick solicitor caused a surprise when he referred to Gardai trying to intimidate him. Mr. Gordon Hayes was objecting to a remand in a case .. Mr. Hayes alleged that the police held £150 belonging to one of the men, and Justice de Burca agreed to remand with consent to bail.

The garda referred to here was detective/inspector Gerry O'Sullivan, who told Gordon Hayes during this court case, "If you pursue this course it will be all the worst for your clients". The sharp verbal manner in which Hayes reacted to this piece of advice showed his anger, but no attempt was made by the Justice to investigate the matter.

A few days earlier, a paragraph in the Limerick Chronicle (20/9/73) told of a meeting in Limerick of the "Daniel O'Connell Foundation", the aim of which was to "achieve social justice" in the city. The incongruity between the name and aim of the new body may have accounted for the small attendance. (Daniel O'Connell had little interest in social justice and only used the working class as political fodder for his own motives).

However, it is known that Gordon Hayes is one of the moving forces in the new body, and that it is seeking to bring about a system of legal justice, regardless of the background, social status, reputation or wealth of the person appearing in court or needing legal advice. For his efforts in this direction, Hayes will be looked on with a mixture of hostility and contempt by the older, compromised solicitors in Limerick.

In challenging the present set-up, Hayes faces a difficult task. He knows the injustice of the system from the inside; he knows about the people making the big money; he knows the names of the legal men doing deals with the gardai; he knows how the gardai operate in securing convictions. In short, Gordon Hayes knows too much .. and he has a lot of things — and people — to expose.

But Hayes can expect that the efforts to discredit and ultimately silence him will increase. Against powerful odds he has set out to try to bring much-needed and long-overdue reforms to the legal system in Limerick. It is time more people joined him in his work and in bringing the struggle into the open.

INTERSTRETCH

THE BATTLE OF THE BULGE

One of the most recent acquisitions by Playtex, the multi-national bra/girdle company, is Interstretch Ltd., of Kilrush Road, Ennis, Co. Clare. The Irish factory manufactures the power net which goes into the finished bras and girdles at other Playtex factories in Britain. The British parent company is at Port Glasgow, Renfrewshire, Scotland and the firm has another big plant at Johnstone. Two thousand workers are employed at these two factories.



By comparison, Interstretch is a small outfit, with 34 workers employed at its Ennis plant. The profits of Interstretch are, however, impressive, relative to its size. Last year (1972), the operating profit, after all expenses, was around £60,000. This year, it is expected to be as high as £80,000 to £100,000.

The Interstretch factory is a non-trade union operation, and tentative organising efforts by Flan Honan, the Irish Transport and General Workers Union official in Clare, have proved to be completely unsuccessful. The average weekly wage paid to the workers is about £24, with a small monthly bonus added to this. These wages contrast sharply with the salaries paid to the managerial staff.

The General Manager has a salary of £6,500 per year. The Technical Manager, is also well paid, having £4,000 per annum. The knitting department manager and the finishing department manager are likewise well up in the money league.

The Company Secretary is Tommy Linnane, a chartered accountant from the Harcourt Street, Dublin firm of auditors, Purtil and Co. Linnane is well known in Ennis for his "working lunch" sessions in the Old Ground Hotel with the general manager of Interstretch.

The office accountant at Interstretch did not fare too well in the salary stakes, being forced to exist on a more modest £1,920 per year. When he sought an increase on this sum and tried to enlist the services of the Labour Court (Rights) Commissioner, Con Murphy, to investigate his case, he was sacked at few minutes' notice, with only a final even more modest hand-out as compensation.

But the dismissal did not ruffle the company's profit-making progress. The Playtex 'U.K. house journal, P.S., in its winter 1972 edition reports on a notable achievement by Interstretch:

Although Interstretch is a baby in Playtex terms they are already making their mark in Ireland and last year they entered for the first time an Industrial Float in the Ennis Harvest Festival and walked off with the first prize!

The magazine itself is a typical example of the womb-to-tomb paternalism practised by multi-national companies. It's all here: notices and pictures of babies, weddings, anniversaries and deaths of the company's workers and their families. Listing seven dances and five children's parties held for the workers and their children at Port Glasgow and Johnstone, the magazine concludes one of its articles with a word of thanks to John Gray, personnel officer, "for putting it all together". The piece ends with a good, but unintended, Playtex pun: "Roll on next year".

Another article gives an account of the annual "founders' day" celebrations, with details of the "ten year club" outing, a "celebration lunch" and awards to workers with five, ten and fifteen years' service with Playtex. And the "supervisor and management team" were also well catered for. Like the chameleon, multi-national companies try to blend with harmless local traditions and customs in the countries where they operate. These companies participation in "cultural" and sporting events help them to identify with their local surroundings and also help to create a fellow-feeling between the foreign bosses and native workers. The entry of Interstretch in the Ennis Harvest Festival is an example of this strategy. The company's soccer team is also a help in the integration process.

In Scotland — Rabbi Burns country — it was inevitable that Playtex should throw up its own "Playtex Burns Club". And the magazine does not disappoint us with its description of a Burns Supper, the fifth one held by the firm. Some of the toasts were most appropriate to the occasion:

*Wi' Quaffing and Laughing
They ranted and they sang
Wi' jumping an' thumping
The vera girdle rang.*

And another toast shows that Burns, like the Playtex "cross your heart" bra, was well ahead of his time:

*Sae worming, sae charming
He faultless form and gracefu' air.*

Judging from this experience, it should not be long before we have an Interstretch Merryman Club in Ireland. With a factory in the heart of Brian Merryman country, the Clare mountainy poet should prove a most suitable choice of the company's contribution to the battle of the bulge. The *Midnight Court*, Merryman's well-known poem, offers plenty of scope for suitable toasts:

*There's bottom and belly that claim attention,
And the best concealed that I needn't mention.*

And Merryman is even more explicit in some further lines:

*However the rest of the world is gypped
I knew you when you went half-stripped;
And I'd venture a guess that in what you lack
A shift would still astonish your back;
And, shy as you seem, an inquisitive gent
Might study the same with the full consent.
Bosom and back are tightly laced,
Or is it the stays that gives you the waist?*

The P.S. magazine left the last words to the Playtex British boss, Brian H. Lees. A "stop press" item headed, "from the managing director's desk, gives us an interesting insight into the Playtex attitude to industrial relations and the role of trade unions:

Today we are completing one of the most difficult weeks in our Company's history. We have been able to work only three days because of the critical power situation, brought about by the miners' strike. At home we have all been hit by power cuts of three hours. And restrictions may yet go further. Today is critical for another reason. The Court of Inquiry recommendations are awaited and on them depend whether the strike will be called off. If the recommendations are not accepted, our country will face very, very difficult and dangerous times indeed ... My reason for writing is to say "thank you". When the Government Order was served on us saying we could work only three days, your management devised the plan to extend each day to twelve hours. Your response to this suggestion, creating as it did, difficulties in transport, catering, your families, your private arrangements — was simply magnificent. Almost without exception you have demonstrated your faith in, and loyalty to, Playtex by saying 'This battle is mine. I will make sure that my Company is not let down by lack of effort on my part'. No other Managing Director in the entire country could possibly feel as proud as I. None has as great a privilege as I in having such a wonderful work-force ..

And so through the "management devised plan" and the "magnificent response" of the "wonderful work-force" in working three twelve-hour days per week, Playtex fought its "battle" and maintained its profits. It seems that the company has exported its "Playtex Family" spirit to its Ennis plant, where union membership is actively discouraged and where any worker attempting to join a union automatically becomes a marked man.

For all its glib talk about "our country", "privilege", "faith" and "loyalty" and its sales gimmicks about "slim-line", "cross your heart" and "two-way stretch", Playtex has only one real concern. Like Henry Ford's "money not cars" maxim, the name of the Playtex game is profits not panties.